1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

well to relate them: it may therefore be that they really do not know them until later in life. 538

Affectionate care is lavished on children, especially the recently bereft orphan for whom new playthings are made and choice tidbits saved. It is quite common to see parents fondle their children, stroking their hair, etc., but rarely kissing them. Inasmuch as chastisement is rarely inflicted, it is astonishing to mark their good behavior. They are docile, not forward, reserved before their elders, and, I judge, are never long the topic of their parents' conversation, at least while they are present. Children rarely cry, and this is not frequently for anger or to gain their desires. 855 [738]

Punishment is infrequent, but a child who persistently disobeys orders, is heedless, or filches food before others eat, is slapped or switched a few times on the thigh. A more drastic punishment consists in building a smudge of the child's faeces, together with those of dog and horse, in which he is held head downward until he nearly loses consciousness. "This was frequently done to old Captain B, when he was a boy; now you see he is all right." Sometimes a teased child becomes angry. The man then takes him into a nearby sweatlodge, threatening, in a teasing way, to keep him there till sundown, though the heat kill him. When the child is almost overcome, he promises to behave, and is released. 865

If a child is often beaten without just provocation, he may feel that he is not wanted, then, just like an adult, his soul or heart[1] forsakes him and he pines and dies. The soul of a little child is easily frightened; one who is always timorous, though no danger is near, will not live long. Sinyella has never seen such, but he has heard this told. 855 858

Little children are told by their elders[2] that the echo is the call of a man hiding in the rocks or in a cave. They are sent to search for him. "Try it again; he will appear there; you will see him soon." 855

Early in the morning a dark yellow rock-bird (*tatl'ol*) will chatter in the bushes close to the camp. Then the old people will say to a little boy: "The rock-bird laughs and calls at you, 'You have no arrow to kill me; you look like a girl.'"

Puberty Customs

These, which concern girls alone, are even more moderately developed than among neighboring tribes. 881 ●

At the first menstruation, stones are heated in a pit near the camp, covered with dirt, and carpeted with leaves and brush. The blanket-

[1] These English words were used interchangeably in this connection.
[2] Who do not mislead themselves.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

covered girl lies on this (*opdgd*), protected by a temporary shade, for four days and nights.[1] Before this, however, her body is washed with yucca root suds, and painted red, save for her face which is decorated with the brown juice of the opuntia. During this period, she must eat and drink sparingly, meat is tabooed (but not salt), and she must use a stick or a smooth deer tibia to scratch herself.[2] She is not permitted to sleep by an old woman, who sits beside her, singing, "Do not be lazy; do not be troublesome. When you are married, cook and fetch water and wood."

Further details are given in a myth. The girl should run to the east at dawn each of the four days.[3] Then she may wash her hair and body. She will be barren should she taste meat before the menses (*dhud'flgd*, lit., red) end.

A woman lives at home during her periodical illnesses, the only interruption in her life being the taboos against meat for fear of barrenness, scratching with her fingers, and sexual intercourse. At the first menstruation following marriage, the mothers of a couple wash the entire body of their respective children and paint them red from head to foot. The husband's hair is roughly bound with a cord into a single queue by his mother. The hair at the wife's temples is tied at the occiput, enclosing the back hair which hangs loose. All this takes place at the camp of the wife's parent, with whom the couple are living. Their parents instruct them, adding to the wife, "Run toward the setting sun[4] as far as you can and return. Some unmarried girls will run with you: try to beat them." This is for the purpose of enabling her to run fast and move about briskly. This running is performed on each of four days succeeding the end of the first flow and on one day following each subsequent menstruation throughout her lifetime. The husband, after being washed by his mother, runs at dawn on each of these days, carrying a slow-match (p. 323).

Mannerisms and Customary Behavior

Women do not fear the mice that live in the thatch, as white women do, though they drive them away. Yet they react in the same way to lizards; scream for fear they will run under their skirts.

Care of the sick and helpless is rather cursory. The invalid must share the discomforts of sleeping with the rest of the family and the coarse

[1] Compare the roasting pit of the girls in Southern California.
[2] For comparative notes see Lowie, (i), 143–147, (j), 283, and Benedict, 79.
[3] The Navaho girl runs to the east and back, and a similar custom marks the adolescence ceremony among the White Mountain Apache. The Southern Ute girl at least runs to and fro. [Franciscan Fathers, 446; Curtis, I, 46; Lowie, (i), 278].
[4] There is some confusion about the time; compare above.

CHAPTER III

PUBERTY AND ADOLESCENCE

Recognition of Puberty

Puberty, as noted by appearance of the first menses, marks an important point in a girl's life. Although a girl is not necessarily required to put aside childish toys and pastimes and to assume the attitudes and responsibilities of a woman from this time on, the occasion is recognized as symbolic of transition from childhood to near adult status. 881

It should be noted that adulthood and maturity are not synonymous terms to the Havasupai, who regard the former as a state of physical development and the latter as a mental and emotional condition. Maturity is characterized by them as the attainment of experience and wisdom which can only be achieved with the passing of time and therefore cannot be expected of young adults. Thus, while a youth may be proficient in physical skills, he is not expected to "know" things, such as the best ways to get along in his environment, nor is he thought to have thorough knowledge of traditional tribal folklore and folkways. Emotional stability or an even temperament is much admired, but those who are said to possess this quality are not among the tribal leaders. They may be consulted for advice, especially among their own kinship group, but this is a normal function for senior family members, even tempered or otherwise. 885 881

Puberty apparently is not closely associated with a girl's eligibility for marriage. Although a few girls in the present younger generation have married shortly after the advent of puberty, marriage usually takes place five or six years later, the length of the intervening span lending support to statements by informants that there is no connection between puberty and marriage. Although several women reportedly had not reached puberty when they married, this was not checked with the respective individuals who, in each case, were old enough to menstruate. However, the fact that they are reported to have married prior to puberty suggests that the first menses is not necessarily prerequisite to marriage. 881 582

Thus, while puberty is formally recognized with a traditional ceremony, it is not marked by any sudden change in the routine of a girl's daily life. In her work and recreational activities, assumption of adult roles is accomplished gradually and almost imperceptibly. No doubt the eldest girl in a family is given greater and earlier responsibility than that delegated to a younger sister. However, a girl's grandmothers, aunts, and other female relatives are usually at hand to assume major duties, or to help with whatever a young girl must do. 881

Training at Puberty

A girl usually is prepared in advance by her mother for the physiological phenomenon of menstration. Apparently the experience is seldom traumatic if it occurs while a girl is living with her parents or relatives. However, among women interviewed on this subject, those who were in boarding school when the first menses occurred, almost without exception reported that they were frightened and did not know what to do, although most of them were not taken by surprise either in the occurrence of menstruation or its characteristics. On the other hand, women who observed puberty at home seemed unable to recall an initial reaction of fright or emotional distress. If they remembered their first reaction, it was described as excitement or nervousness. 881

While hysteria or extreme trauma was not reported for girls away from home, a few women reported that they were so frightened that they "cried at first," "cried all night," "went off alone and cried," or something similar. Usually, a girl confided in or sought assistance from a friend or matron.

It may be that the nature of the social environment, rather than the physiological phenomenon itself, is the primary cause of the different responses. Whether or not a pubescent girl has prior knowledge of menstruation and its traditional accompanying ritual appears to be a factor of somewhat less importance.

Although a consistent check was not made to determine how much advance knowledge a girl has of the puberty ceremony, and what her attitude toward its observance may be, most pubescent girls probably are aware that certain customs are followed such as a yucca suds bath and shampoo, body and face painting, and lying for a period of some days on a bed placed over heated rocks.

Upon appearance of a girl's first menses, her immediate awareness that the traditional ceremony cannot be performed for her because of her presence at boarding school may contribute to her emotional distress. Another disturbing factor may be the absence of her mother and other close relatives, and her own absence from the environment where she gained her earliest feelings of security. She may be further disquieted if she happens to be poorly adjusted or unreconciled to life away from home.

If a girl's knowledge of the traditional puberty ceremony is meager, older Havasupai girls in the school may instruct her in proper observance of taboos. If they give her a full description of the customary ceremony, with reasons for observance of its various features, this information probably adds to the pubescent girl's apprehension concerning neglect of the proper ritual.

881. 841 [177] A girl's careless attitude toward subsequent observance of menstrual taboos does not necessarily suggest that the same girl would have felt unconcern for tradition during her intial menses. On the contrary, flaunting of taboos more likely results from: (1) accidental infractions not followed by dire consequences; (2) association with girls of other tribes who, although not observant of Havasupai taboos, suffer none of the predicted penalties; and (3) white education and influences.

881 183 [114] In addition to the possible factors outlined above, Havasupai cultural patterns are defined somewhat loosely, individual and group behavior approximating, rather than following, that set forth in the prescribed patterns. Thus, a casual attitude toward undeviating observance of menstrual and other taboos, and toward performance or omission of behavior seemingly dictated by tribal mores, in itself, appears to be characteristic of Havasupai culture. Leslie Spier (personal communication, 1957) notes, "Your remarks on casualness as characteristic of Havasupai behavior are very just in my opinion. It does correlate, as you say, with their individualism and the variations in activities they choose to follow."

Although this casual attitude is evident in behavior, it is only indirectly verbalized. While a child becomes the creature of his culture, it would be premature on present evidence to conclude that either the implicit casualness or the verbalized imperatives concerning the puberty ceremony might predominate in determining a pubescent girl's attitude toward omission of her puberty ceremony and her emotional reaction to the situation.

Physiological phenomena incident to menstruation, such as pain, nervous tension, dizziness, or weakness, must be discounted as factors conducive to greater emotional stress among pubescent girls absent from home, because the same symptoms doubtless occur also among girls at home.

In the absence of a conclusive explanation of the different responses reported for the two groups of pubescent girls, it is suggested that the puberty ceremony itself minimizes any emotional or physiological distress a girl may feel.

Functions of the Puberty Ceremony

881 182 The puberty ceremony functions to obtain public recognition of a girl's impending change in status from childhood to womanhood. The ceremony is held in private and is followed by no formal public announcement. Perhaps this correlates with statements that the puberty ceremony does not mark the beginning of adult status and eligibility for marriage. News of a girl's attainment of puberty is passed from person to person with about the same interest evoked by other tribal gossip. The private nature of the Havasupai puberty ceremony and the lack of emphasis upon its association with subsequent eligibility for marriage are in contrast with the public character of the Apache rite, and the accompanying change from prior

ineligibility to subsequent eligibility for marriage, as reported by Opler (1941, 82). 881 182

Among the Havasupai, the puberty ceremony's most important function may be for the girl herself. Attentions given her during the ritual puberty observance tend to: (1) dramatize a difficult experience for her by treating it as one of relative importance; (2) sustain and reinforce her ego by verbal delineation of her prospective roles, and by indirect acknowledgment of her newly acquired status; and (3) minimize possible unpleasantness of the physiological change involved by directing a girl's attention toward the ritual and its symbolism, and by emphasizing importance of her future womanly duties toward her family.

Initial fright felt by a pubescent girl living at home might easily be forgotten in the reassurance offered by the puberty ceremony and its accompanying attentiveness to the girl by her mother or another close relative.

Puberty for boys is not marked by ceremony. Perhaps the closest thing corresponding to puberty ritual was the recognition which formerly accompanied a boy's first successful deer hunt. A youth was not permitted to eat any of his first kill. He divided it instead among relatives and friends or among other hunters.

While some form of the puberty ceremony usually is performed for a girl of today, a boy no longer has the opportunity of achieving recognition through his mastery of hunting techniques. The Havasupai, of course, are restricted to hunting during annual game seasons. Wild animals no longer play an important part in their economy. [224]

Mythical Origin of Menstruation

A folktale describing the manner in which menstruation came about is incorporated in a longer story. Only the part concerning menstruation is narrated here. 841 539 773

"Long ago when the world was still wet, before the human race was here, and when the animals were like human beings, Squirrel lived in the San Francisco Mountains. One day he took the tibia of a deer and painted on it a design. After sundown, he threw the bone to the east with a prayer that a young girl would come to him with the next rising sun. The girl came just as Squirrel had prayed she would. She lived happily for a time there at the camp with her guardian, Squirrel, and her brothers, Coyote and White Dog.

"One day Coyote called to his sister saying, 'Sister, you must stay here while I go out to hunt.' After the girl had waited awhile, Coyote returned carrying a fawn he had killed. The girl was glad to see the fawn and sat

841 nearby thinking how good the meat would taste. While Coyote was butcher-
773 ing, she felt of the fawn's smooth hair and touched his ears and face. Pres-
539 ently, Coyote asked the girl to hand something to him, and when she turned away to reach it, Coyote put his hand in the fawn's fresh blood and flipped it upon the girl's thighs close to her vagina. The Coyote cried out, 'Oh, Sister, you are menstruating. Now you cannot eat meat until you are clean after four days have passed.' The girl was angry because she couldn't eat the meat. Coyote said to her, 'From now on it will happen like this to you once every month. After four days you must bathe.' Thus it was Coyote who caused the girl to have the monthly illness, and all girls have had it since that time.

"The girl went to bed unhappy and next morning when she awoke she was still angry with her brother, Coyote, so she left the camp early, saying nothing to her relatives. She ran away to a land in the west where she lived from that time on."

The Puberty Ceremony and Folklore

145 Havasupai girls are expected to reach puberty at 12 or 13 years but young women reported initial menses occurring from ages 11 through 17.

In childhood, a girl is shielded from knowledge of menstruation, although
881 it seems likely that some girls learn the physiological facts early from con-
864 tacts with older sisters or girl friends. Also, women informants speak
841 frankly and without embarrassment both of menstruation and childbirth in the presence of children of both sexes. Although, in several cases, little girls listened with interest to interviews on these subjects, it is possible that they did not fully comprehend the discussion, especially since English terms were
[192] used. In Havasupai, the term for menstruation ʔhu ʔ tʃga literally means the quality of being red, that is reddish (Spier, 1928, 326). Blood was recorded as ʔhuʔt' and red as ʔhuʔ'ta by this investigator.

Living arrangements afford little privacy. Old style hogans and other
841 house types consist of one room, and the newer houses have only one or two
864 rooms. A menstruating woman usually goes to the toilet area to care for
862 herself, first to find privacy, and second, to bury her soiled menstrual pad. Since the toilet area almost always is located in some brush near camp, a little girl may chance to observe her mother or an older sister there. In 1953, a nine-year-old girl, who persistently questioned her older sister about the purpose of packaged sanitary napkins, was repeatedly offered the explanation that they were used to bandage injured arms or legs. When an uninformed little girl observes the initial puberty ceremony, she may be told that this is a treatment "for aching all over." This explanation may seem plausible by analogy with the therapeutic function of the sweatbath.

The Puberty Dress

881 In former times a buckskin dress cut to the same pattern as that worn
292 for daily attire was made for use during a girl's first menses by one of the
[622] men who knew how to do it. Chiefs are said to have fulfilled this function, while medicine men had no such role.

while medicine men had no such role. Sinyella, Manakaja, Supai Charley, and Pakadagova's father, all chiefs, made puberty dresses in former times. However, in more recent generations, Allen Akaba and Mark Hanna, both shamans, are named among those who "know how" to make such dresses. 881 292

The buckskin dress commonly worn was described by Spier (1928, 185-8). It consisted of a one-piece front section, suspended by a loop around the neck which covered the body in front from the neckline to the ankles and a back apron, tied around the waist and hanging to the ankles. Both front and back were fringed down the sides and along the lower edge. The skirt was left open on both sides, exposing a girl's thighs while she was moving about or sitting down. A rabbitskin blanket was worn over the shoulders of this dress. [177] Originally, a woven Hopi belt was preferred, but in more recent times a silver conch belt was sometimes worn.

A puberty dress differed from the ordinary one only in color; it was stained red by rubbing powdered ocher into the buckskin. [386] In the later period of using buckskin dresses for this ceremony, silver buttons occasionally were added to the skirt front, their arrangement being an individual matter. [301] Doubtless, variations in decoration were carried out according to personal perferences and materials on hand.

The only symbolic meaning of the puberty dress or its design apparently was its red color, which symbolized the menstrual blood, although no emphasis was given this point by verbalization during the ceremony. [822]

After its use at puberty, a dress was saved for wear at round dances or funerals, or on other special occasions. Its color did not make it objectionable for such future use. Although it was reported that a few women might still have their puberty dresses, the investigator was unable to find one. In each case, the woman had burned it upon the death of the man who had made it for her, or in some instances she had simply discarded it because it was old or shabby. [768]

After the practice of making buckskin puberty dresses fell into disuse, a simple cotton dress was substituted. If an old dress were used, it would be discarded later.

Today menstrual pads and all things that become soiled with blood are buried. [783] Burning them would cause a girl to be barren, to miscarry in pregnancy, or to lose all her children in infancy. [826]

Bath, Shampoo, and Paint

At the onset of her first menstrual period, a pubescent girl is bathed, her hair is shampooed, and her face and body painted by her mother, who meanwhile admonishes her to be industrious, so that she may become a good 881 515 302

881 wife and mother, and to follow the proper observances and taboos through-
515 out her life, so that she may remain young, attractive and vigorous.
302

It is believed that the face of a girl while menstruating or following childbirth must be washed in cold water because hot water causes wrinkles. Premature greyness will result if a girl touches her hair while it is wet, and she is also forbidden to eat before her hair dries. (An informant explained that failure to observe these rules causes white women to turn grey while young. Informants frequently made comments of this kind to explain the premature aging of white women who were thought to fare less favorably than the Havasupai women.) The girl's mother dries her hair by catching strands in her fingers and flipping the ends with a stick.

Spier (1928, 326) describes a bath and shampoo on the first of the four days during which the puberty ritual is observed. He notes that, "A girl should run to the east at dawn each of the four days. Then she may wash her hair and body." Present informants state that a pubescent girl should be bathed on four successive mornings, beginning with the first day of her menses. Subsequently, except following childbirth, a girl should not bathe until four days after commencement of her menses. She arises while it is still dark, bathes herself and shampoos her hair in yucca suds.

[386] Following her bath, a girl's body and face are painted by her mother with powdered red ocher, or with liquid red dye from the fruit of the opuntia cactus.

If powdered ocher is used, no deer fat or other grease is mixed with it,
[841] because a girl's face would remain oily like the fat. At present, cosmetic
[177] cream, lipstick, and cream rouge are taboo during menstruation for the same reason. However, it is suspected that lipstick, at least, may be used by girls who are being courted, especially at boarding school or at work outside the reservation.

386 Before metal strainers were available, liquid dye was obtained from
415 the opuntia by pressing and draining the juice from the pear seeds over a primitive strainer fashioned from Mormon tea plant stems placed across a pottery bowl. If the opuntia fruit were out of season, dye was made by boiling the dried opuntia pears.

881 Spier (1928, 326) states that a girl is "painted red, save for her face
302 which is decorated with the brown juice of the opuntia." In a personal com-
[114] munication, Spier added that the red to which he referred for body paint was
[822] red ocher. (While ripe opuntia pears are purplish red and the dye obtained from them may be more brown than red, informants referred to it as red dye.) Spier's informants thus described the use of a red paint for a girl's body and dye from the opuntia fruit for designs on her face. Spier (personal communication, 1957) states that all-over body paint was invariably red. Several informants now assert that either powdered red ocher or opuntia dye

may be used, but whichever one is chosen is used both for body paint and for face designs. However, one woman insisted that ocher paint only was used at the menses, and that the red opuntia dye was reserved as a treatment for sunburn and the removal of freckles. In the latter connection it was explained that freckles may be caused by a female fetus during pregnancy and can be remedied by the above treatment. (One informant thought that her fellow tribeswomen were in error in their belief that sex of a child could be foretold by the appearance of such freckles, inasmuch as she herself had seen them appear during a pregnancy which resulted in birth of a boy.) 881 302 [757] [827] [843] [842]

Designs on a girl's face may consist of four vertical lines on each side of her nose, extending from her forehead to her jaw, the innermost lines passing the outer corners of her eyes. Vertical lines may be painted on a girl's cheeks, with a continuous line extending from her hairline down her nose to her chin. One pattern started with a line at the inner corners of the eyes extending outward across the cheeks, the smoothing motion used in executing this supposedly warding off wrinkles. These, or other facial designs used, are said to have no significance other than that customarily associated with the number four which is conspicuous in any grouping of lines or dots used. The body may be painted red completely from neck to foot, or lines may be drawn on arms from shoulder to wrist and on the front of thighs to the knee. 881 302 531 [801]

While it was stated that a menstruating girl should rise before sunup for her ceremonial washing and painting so she will be ready to run at sunrise, a discrepancy appears in that she is said to dry her hair in the sun. This suggests that, in practice, little attention is paid to the time certain actions should be performed, or to their sequence. 881 302 841

Running at Sunset and Sundown

At sunrise, a pubescent girl, already bathed, shampooed, painted, and attired in her puberty dress, runs toward the sunrise, and at sundown she runs toward the west to insure that she will be quick and unfailing in her work. As she runs she carries a slow match of cedar bark with which she touches her knees and elbows to prevent rheumatism in old age. On the three succeeding days, a girl is bathed, her hair is shampooed, and her body paint and face designs are reapplied. As on the first day, she runs to the east at dawn and to the west at sundown. Following this routine she gathers a bundle of wood and carries it to the camp of some woman who is exemplary in working so that she may attain this ideal. 881 [751] [372] [482]

Meanwhile, a girl's father has dug a shallow pit and constructed a temporary brush shade over it a short distance from the home camp. In the pit, which is about 4 ft. long and 1 ft. deep, a layer of rocks is placed with firewood. After being heated about an hour, the rocks are covered with earth and several layers of blankets to make a bed. When the girl has performed 881 843

881 a few tasks for her mother, she retires to this bed, sitting or lying on it
343 most of the time during four days and nights. The rocks stay hot overnight and are reheated each morning. At her mother's bidding, a girl rises frequently during the day to carry wood or water, or to do some other work so that she will not become a lazy wife.

881 In former times, an old woman, often a girl's grandmother, sat beside
887 her throughout the night singing and talking to keep the girl awake. "Don't be
869 lazy," the old woman admonished. "When you marry, work hard and be a good wife and mother." At present, a girl is permitted to sleep part of the night.

Taboos

881 During this and subsequent menstrual periods, a girl refrains from eat-
262 ing meat, which would cause her face to wrinkle and her teeth to wear out
[263] prematurely. Although Spier (1928, 326) states that salt is not taboo, present informants say it must be used very sparingly. Otherwise, a girl while menstruating may eat much the same as usual, except that soft foods and liquids are preferable for her, and she should eat small amounts. Some foods considered appropriate in former times were corn mush, silĕ (unidentified) mush, black sunflower seed paste, opuntia pears, and dried soapweed pears.

881 Scratching with the fingernails would leave raised marks or scars on
[237] the skin, so girls formerly used a deer tibia painted with red, black, and
[531] white designs, said to be without significance. Or she might make use of any stick close at hand. At the present time, sticks appear to be used exclusively. These are undecorated. In 1951, a Havasupai girl, while visiting an abandoned storage cist with this investigator, found a stick tucked into a crack under an overhanging rock. The stick, identified without prompting as a puberty scratching stick, was about 8 in. long, 1/2 in. wide, and 1/4 in. thick. It was undecorated and unsmoothed except for one slightly rounded end which probably had been abraded with a stone. The only stick observed in use, however, was any one which happened to be at hand.

[833] Sexual intercourse is prohibited during menstruation. As one informant phrased it, if this taboo is broken "you will be pregnant right there."
[842] Infraction would result in this penalty for either premarital or postmarital
[841] intercourse during menstruation, and for intercourse during the menstrual flow following childbirth.

[856] If a girl at puberty is thin, a fat woman "stands on the girl's back" so
[826] she too will become attractively plump. In practice, a fat woman places one foot on a girl's back, exerting but little pressure. In one instance a girl's father is known to have performed this role.

Although it was denied by several informants, others insisted that menstrual blood brings bad luck to hunters, and for that reason a menstruating woman formerly stayed alone a short distance from camp where men would not come in contact with her. If an unused house or brush shelter was conveniently located near her camp, a woman might occupy this for a few days, but no menstrual hut was purposefully erected. At present a menstruating woman should not enter a sweatlodge. A woman's pregnancy, but apparently not her menstrual periods, should keep her husband from using the sweatlodge. 841 881 [777] [224] [343]

Traditionally, a girl's mother or grandmother attends her during her first menses, but in practice, almost anyone related or unrelated, female or male, may take charge of the ceremony. 881

In one case, a girl's father took complete charge, including the bathing and painting of her body, although her mother was present. The mother in question offered the excuse that she merely felt "too lazy" to do it herself. The mother admitted also that she neglected to perform any of the puberty ritual for a younger daughter whose first menses occurred after the death of the girl's father. [184]

In another case, a girl's paternal grandfather attended her, although her parents and both grandmothers were available. This girl, now an adult, could offer no reason why her grandfather played this role, but in other interviews, she repeatedly indicated that a close bond existed between her and this grandfather, with whom she lived as a child and who "was always telling me stories and teaching me the right things to do." [603]

The puberty ceremony in complete form as described here, is seldom, if at all, performed today. Greatest emphasis is now placed upon the taboos against meat, intercourse, scratching, and use of too much salt, about in that order. The bed of heated rocks is used in most cases, and many girls still have their bodies bathed and their hair shampooed. Body and face painting is somewhat less emphasized, perhaps because with a decrease in gathering of wild plant foods, opuntia pears may not be on hand; and other activities and interests also tend to discourage preparation of a sufficient amount of powdered ocher. In practice, almost any combination of features from the prescribed ritual may be selected. A girl may not be kept awake long, if at all, during the night. Few girls run at sunrise and probably none run at sunset. Less emphasis than formerly is placed upon performance of camp work at this time. 881 177

Clothing, Adornment, and Beauty Practices

In former times, style was of little importance either in clothing, ornamentation, or decoration, but both girls and boys commonly gave some attention to enhancing their attractiveness from adolescence through the court- 291 302 832

553 an interest in things. Names are said to be given for some personal peculiarity or because of some occurrence. As a rule grandparents name the children and names are not family property, as is the case in some Indian tribes. Sometimes children are re-named when they reach [518] maturity. It is common for men to be re-named in reference to their marriage, but women are not. Havasupai names are told to strangers 551 without much hesitation. Names have no special emotional or religious significance.

881 When a girl reaches adolescence, stones are heated in a pit near her home, covered with dirt, and carpeted with brush, grass and leaves. A temporary brush shelter is built over the pit and the girl lays on the covered rocks for the next four days. Before this however, she is bathed in suds made from yucca roots, her body painted red and her face brown. During the four days she must eat and drink sparingly must not eat meat, and must use a stick to scratch herself. She must run to the east before sunrise on each of the four days. It is believed [523] that girls who eat meat before the menses end will be barren.

861 Some of the old methods of training the young have disappeared, [177] yet while children are young they are taught by precept. The father or parental grandfather is the proper guide and instructor for a boy. 868 Success in hunting depends more on personal skill than on charms and careful instruction is given to the boy. Boys practice marksmanship on rabbits, quail, and other small game before they are taken on a deer hunt.

Small girls help their mothers with the household duties around the camp, accompany them to the fields to gather corn and vegetables, to the orchards to gather fruit, and assist with the care of smaller bro- 882 thers and sisters. Mothers usually watch their adolescent daughters very closely and do not allow them to go about alone.

517 In summer after the crops are planted and again during the harvest the Havasupai have some leisure time in which to engage in their favorite pastimes. Men gather at the sweat lodges to gossip, or visit a neighbor and help him rub and stretch buckskin, play games of chance, race horses, tell stories, or plan a trip to the Hopi or Hualapai reservations to trade. Women gather at a neighbor's camp and weave baskets, prepare the material for basketry, or even shell corn. In midday [525] the women and young men are usually at their gambling, and, at least during the summer, the older men are at the sweat lodge.

345 These lodges are dome-shaped structures about six-feet in diameter and four to five feet high, set over a circular pit a foot deep. The frame is covered with brush or thatch. The dirt floor is usally covered with grass or leaves, except for a space to the left of the entrance where the stones are placed. They are heated in a fire nearby and carried in with green wood tongs.

515 The sweat lodge serves as a sort of clubhouse for the men. During 517 the hot midday it is customary for the men to rest, the sweating proving very refreshing. Some lodges are located on the banks of the creek; others some distance away. Several men may be found during the heat of the day, lying on the sand near the lodge, stripped to breech cloth, awaiting their turn to enter. Women occasionally accompany their husbands, but such are considered family affairs, especially when they take the children.

It is the custom for a man to go into the lodge four times during the afternoon. Usually four go in together, but the number is not fixed. The space would hardly accomodate more. The host or leader sits at the rear with a basin of water nearby. It is very dark inside and the heat is intense. Suddenly he bursts into a song; if the others wish [533] they may join him. They stay from about ten minutes to an hour, and just before they emerge the leader sprinkles water on the rocks producing heavy steam. If the lodge is located on the banks of the creek,